/285 cont./ Tuŝawa, The
634 apparent holder of almost absolute power (on the temporal plane,
614 of course) (1) belonged to the Bakoro clan, while the Bādejeba or
591

1. We are completely leaving aside all that is related to spiritual power and religious life.

Chief clan was depicted to us as "very poor" and in a "lower" position (Note II, p. 41).

/286/ Privileges and Obligations of the Clans

614

Clans are tied to one another by a network of reciprocal obligations and rights.

[121] An extensive study of this system of prestations would seem to
[616] be of particular urgency. Our too brief stay only allowed us to determine three incontestable cases where a phratry was under obligations to its opposite number.

881 At the time of the initiation of the young men, the village
616 chief entrusts the care of their preparation to the men of the opposite phratry to theirs.

764 At the death of an Indian a collective hunt is organized by the
224 tribe: this hunt must be ended by the killing of a chosen animal.
[616] Now, it is to a hunter of the opposite phratry to that of the deceased that the latter's nearest relative entrusts the funeral emblems and the responsibility of leading the expedition at his death. On our arrival at Kejara aldeia, funeral ceremonies were beginning. But the ritual hunt took place on the very day when we reached the village. Hence we could not go along.

764 Finally, the dances carried out at the time of funerals fall
535 on certain clans which are specialists in their preparation. Thus
614 the festival of the marid'do (1) /287/ is placed under the patronage
616

764 1. The marid'do is a sort of very
535 long, flexible ladder, the rungs of
824
284

lack this characteristic structure, and even they have as its functional only the Caboccass equivalent an enclosed space taboo to women and children.

Among the *Eastern Bororo* the northern and southern halves of the village circle are associated each with one of the moieties and their constituent clans. At Kejara a second principle of dual division appears: besides the axis that separates the northern from the southern moiety there is another perpendicular to the Vermelho River, creating an Upstream and a Downstream half. Here tradition alleges the pristine existence of several concentric house circles, with residences of the same clan behind one another.

The family house type, though always palm-thatched, differs according to the time of year. During the dry season it is of conical shape and erected with a central pole or tree against which other poles lean. In the frame put up for the rainy season, a crossbeam supporting other poles rests on two forked sticks (pls. 83, *bottom;* 84); generally this hut rises directly from the ground, but occasionally it is put on piles. The erection of the residence is a man's duty.

The women within a house belong to the same clan, each family having its own fire, so that every newly married girl acquires a separate fireplace. The furniture includes mats to sit and sleep on, for even outdoors these Indians avoid resting on the bare ground, over which they spread palm leaves or the branches of a tree. However, there are also platform beds rising about 12 to 16 inches (30 to 40 cm.) above the ground and covered with a layer of palm-leaf stems. Mats or skins serve as blankets. Hammocks are unknown.

A hut contains pots, spits for roasting, rocks for breaking hard seeds, spindles, and bivalve shells used as spoons and scissors. A mother will put her baby in the central concavity of a mat suspended by four cords from opposite sides, a fifth enabling the woman to rock her infant while she is attending to her chores. In some huts a stage 2 feet 6 inches to 3 feet 6 inches (0.8 to 1 m.) in height serves for roasting fish.

How far the *Western Bororo* mode of settlement conformed to the pattern described is not clear. Koslowsky (1895 b) merely speaks of a Bolivian aldea of some 20 huts with palm-thatched walls and roofs and a mat for the entrance.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

Children go naked. When initiated, a youth acquires a penis sheath, being thus qualified to witness the masquerades customary at funerals. On festive occasions, a decorative pennant is attached to the sheath. Men generally wear a girdle with shell disks, also a necklace of cotton thread, a bone pin in the lower lip, and ear ornaments. The hair is cut horizontally in front (pls. 90, *bottom;* 91); combs are made of bamboo rods held together by cotton plaitwork with designs. Body hair is plucked from the beard, the eyebrows, the pubic region, and the armpits. Women wear a gray perineal band,

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

Puberty.—At puberty a boy is initiated through the receipt of a penis sheath, which frees him from his mother's custody, entitling him to see the bull-roarer (figs. 52, *o*; 55) and to attend rites from which

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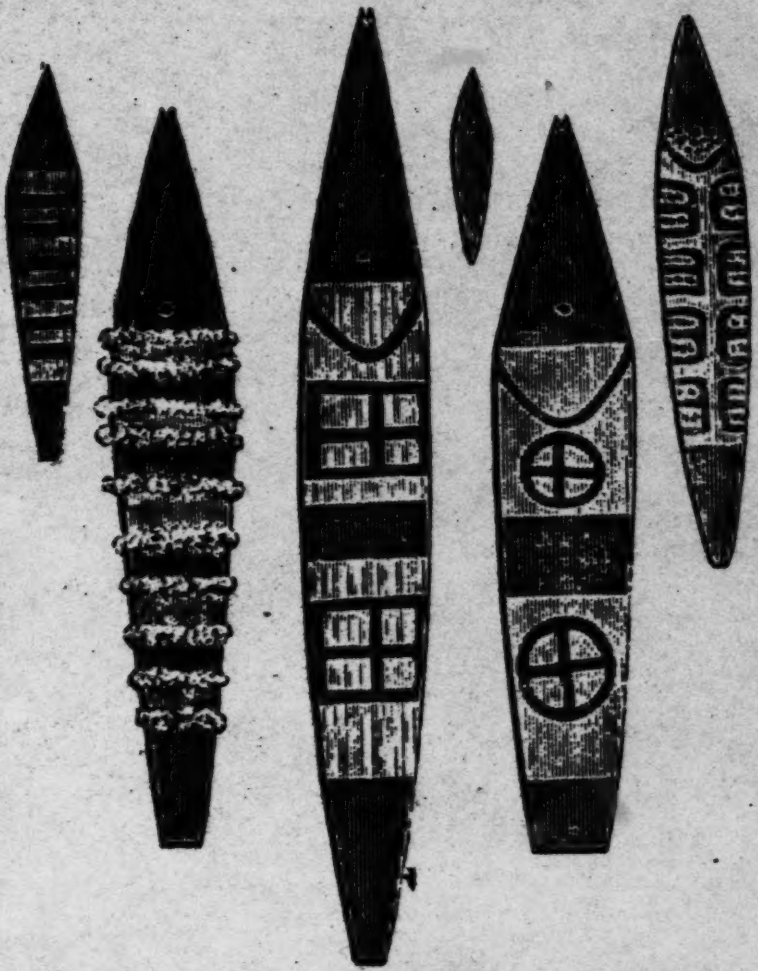

FIGURE 55.—Bull-roarers with various clan designs. (Approximately ⅛ natural size.) (After Colbacchini, 1925.)

881
[616]
[827]

women are excluded. One chief begins trying on the sheath for the novice, and a sponsor from the moiety complementary to the boy's completes the act. His mother and kin wail at the initiation. He is not permitted to sleep that night, because to do so would be injurious to him.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

836 **Marriage.**—There is much premarital license for girls, who are
582 abducted into the men's club. Apart from moiety exogamy and
174 preferential clan unions, the kinship nomenclature suggests marriage with the father's eldest sister's daughter and with the father's younger sister. The actual occurrence of such arrangements, however, is as
575 yet undemonstrated. On the other hand, sororal bigamy and the
591 simultaneous marriage with a woman and her daughter by a previous husband are observed facts. Residence is matrilocal.

763 **Death observances.**—A dying person (das Garças group) is smeared with urucú amid feminine lamentations. The corpse is cov-
602 ered and must no longer be seen by the women and children. Kinsfolk
764 gash themselves, so as to make the blood trickle on the bier. Indoors a long chant begins to the accompaniment of gourd rattles. The dead person is wrapped and tied in a mat with all his possessions, including his broken bow and arrows. At sunset the body is taken to the men's
[622] club, where the chiefs chant and shake their rattles all night. After a brief rest in the morning, the song is resumed and continues until sunset. Near the club the young men prepare a shallow provisional grave. The mourners again wail, gash themselves, tear out or cut their hair, and spatter blood on the burial. Until the close of the mourning period, male relations avoid urucú and kinswomen put on a special girdle.

764 **Mortuary rites are combined with other ceremonies.** On the eve
224 of the burial the people organize a hunt in honor of the dead, the game being brought to the bereaved and communally eaten. A
[616] mourner gives to the valiant hunter of the opposite moiety the hairs he has plucked from his head and a gourd trumpet. Both the hair and the gourd represent the deceased person's soul (aroe). For a fortnight chanting continues in the mourners' hut, then the flesh is removed from the corpse. Young men now impersonate the mythical hero Mariddo (pl. 87), who danced for hours with a heavy bundle on his head, their vain efforts to emulate this feat arousing general hilarity as the parcel falls to the ground. At this juncture bull-roarers are wielded, representing a large mythical beast. The hunter reappears in a disguise as the dead man's representative and the mourners lead him from the club. Women and children would die at sight of either him
881 or the bull-roarer. On the other hand, this is precisely the time for
764 initiating boys deemed old enough. Accordingly, several nude youths plastered with mud represent the mythical animal and, after caressing the hunter, frighten the novices with yells and pelt them with mud before allowing them to see the bull-roarers. Thus the funeral rites involve a boys' initiation.

765 After a night's chanting, the corpse is unwrapped, the bones spread
764 out, washed in a stream, and then carried to the club, where the souls

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8
Mato Grosso SP1

M B 172 of parallel lines, criss-cross, and filled-in triangles. A section of it is shown in Plate XX, 9. Close to the rolled rim on one side, the vessel bears a smooth, round hole less than one centimetre in diameter. It was unquestionably put there intentionally by the potter.

(b) This specimen is of identical shape as (a) but smaller, measuring but seven centimetres across the top and four centimetres in height. It bears the rolled rim, and incised lines. The painted decoration is black and consists of lines and rectangular figures, sectioned off. The hole close to the rim again appears. [Plate XX, 9 a.]

(c) Of the same size as (b), and is identical with it except that the rolled rim is heavier and does not bear any painted decoration.

(d) This is the smallest of the four, and is identical with the others, only differing in the painted decoration, which consists of diamond and triangular figures filled in with parallel horizontal lines. The ware is red and the decoration is in red. [Plate XX, 9 h.]

(a), (c), and (d) were found in close proximity to each other at the same level, thirty centimetres below the surface, but not in association with any of the urn burials. (b) was found also about thirty centimetres below the surface and in the section where the urns were closely packed.

That the hole served the purpose of passing a string through it in order to keep the vessels suspended seems to be a reasonable assumption, but as to their probable use little that is definite can be said. One of the Bororo da Campanha workmen offered the information that in his boyhood he had seen similar vessels used by the girls in the catamonial periods, especially during the period of the puberty initiation ceremony in connection with fasting. These vessels were used as measures for the amount of water and food the girl was permitted to have; whether it was per day or per meal he could not say. However, the ware is not of the Bororo style, and such vessels were not found in use among the Bororo of the São Lorenço region, so that this suggestion cannot be taken as conclusive.

B [88] [804] [415]

Another find consisted of several conical bone points, with concave bases, similar to those found on Bororo arrows, and also on the arrows gotten in the Kuluseu-Kuluene region. [Plate XX, 6.]

Five pottery spindle whorls of the form shown in Plate XX, 8.

Between a depth of thirty centimetres and hard pan, we came upon a large number of closely packed pottery vessels, some of which con-

Chapter VII

NAMING AND INITIATION

Naming

844 585 Birth and marriage have been regarded as private affairs: in one the bilateral contribution required for the creation of a new being is recognized; in the other the continuation of traditional symmetrical alliances is reaffirmed. 553 881 Naming and initiation are socially important rites of bilateral acceptance into society. In the first instance, one is received into one's own matrilineage; in the second, special relationships are established with one's father's matrilineage. These, however, are not the only dimensions [128] of the two rites. There are many others, some of which will be discussed in later chapters; here we will limit ourselves to these two.

553 [613] According to custom, the namegiver must be one of the child's classificatory brothers from its own lineage. The change which occurs in kinship terminology between namegiver 553 and namereceiver has been mentioned before. The ceremony 862 for a male child is an elaborate one; only a brief outline of it will be given here. When the child is a girl the ceremony is much simpler.

553 his own lineage, and not even from his own clan, who can give
178 him a name. So the child receives his name from some other
[761] man of the same moiety, or even of the other moiety. The latter occurs very seldom, however, because the Bororo think that if a man gives a name to a child of the opposite moiety, that child will soon die. When the namegiver does not belong to the same clan and lineage as that of the child, the majority of the names given should be taken from the stock of names of the child's own clan and lineage, but one or two names ought to be taken from those belonging to
* [601] the namegiver's own clan and lineage. The namegiver will,
[613] as usual, be called iyedaga, but the child will not usually have any right to the prerogatives of the namegiver's lineage unless the lineage becomes extinct. If this is the case, members of other lineages more closely related to the extinct one may still have precedence over the namereceiver.

Initiation

• 881 At the beginning of this chapter it was stated that initiation is the rite by which one has established a special relationship with his father's matrilineage. That
613 statement is not entirely correct. One's own lineage stands traditionally in special relationship to a certain number of lineages from the opposite moiety. They mutually exchange women and ceremonial performances. Ideally one's father
582 should have been a member of one of them. Theoretically, Ego (male) should also marry into one of those lineages, and his son will be a member of one of them. Discussing marriage

among the Bororo, we saw that "husbands" and "wives" are theoretically members of those lineages, even though a person might have actually married elsewhere. Now, one's yorubodare, initiator (see page 64), should be also chosen from the members of those lineages. If we keep in mind the Bororo statement that they are the same persons as their ancestors, and that those ancestors were also husbands and wives, fathers and sons of the members of corresponding lineages in the opposite moiety, we can more easily understand another statement the Bororo make in reference to the lineages of preferential mutual exchange: "They are my yorubodare, my husbands and my wives, my fathers and my children."

While marriage is regarded as a private reenactment of mythical ties, initiation is the public reenactment of the same ties. Both institutions require the choice of one tie from among several possible, but while marriage can be and often is dissolved, the yorubodare relationship lasts throughout life.

The initiation ceremony itself is of such complexity and is comprised of so many symbolic acts that a full analysis cannot be given here. A good description of the ceremony can be found in the Enciclopedia Bororo, Volume I, pages 627-642. The Bororo of Pobojari and those of the villages that existed in the same area until recently abandoned it a long time ago. The last time the Bororo performed this ceremony was about thirty years ago in the village of Tori

881 Peru, in compliance with the wishes of Manuel Cruz, who was
[563] at that time mayor of Lageado (called Guiratinga today).
Manuel Cruz had promised to supply the Bororo with rice and
881 meat in return for a performance. The elders of the village
held a council to recall and to reconstruct just how the
rite should be performed. I will illustrate here only some
important features of the ceremony. As a boy grows up, the
father becomes increasingly anxious to get him out of the
[826] house. The Bororo say the penis of the boy is grown, and
father and son are now ashamed of each other. The father
tells the male members of the child's lineage that it is
time to give a penis sheath to the child. The brothers of
the boy discuss among themselves who would be the most qual-
ified initiator, or, as the Bororo say, "where they are go-
ing to throw the child." One of the requisites in the choice
of the initiator is his ability to make ornaments so that he
can make gifts for the boy. After the choice has been made,
the initiation ceremonies will be delayed until somebody
[764] dies in the village. The imposition of the ba, penis sheath,
[291] must coincide with the last three days of funeral ceremonies,
which last over a month. The two ceremonies are interlaced.
[773] Once again the cultural hero Bakororo should be present, for
he invented the ba. This time he is represented by a man
from the lineage of Bakorokudu, who will start the imposi-
tion of the penis sheath and then let the initiator complete
[533] it. The ceremony is preceded and accompanied by songs. The
[301] boy is painted and adorned with white down and other orna-
302
[776]

881 ments, and for the first time he will see Aije, the spirits
301 representing mythical animals who will maltreat him (the
302 Bororo designate as Aije the bull-roarers and the men who
72% whirl them). After the ceremony the boy will leave his maternal home and move into the men's house, or at least sleep there.

593 It is the duty of the boy's father to prepare the penis sheaths. He gives them to the boy's older brother, who in
532 turn gives them to the initiator. The initiator then di-
291 vides them among his own brothers, who paint them with different red motifs, some geometrical and some in shapes of animals, in the hope that the boy will become a good hunter.
301 After the imposition of the penis sheath, the initiator makes ornaments for the boy. Simpler ones are made by his
431 brothers. The boy's mother and the initiator's wife occasionally exchange food. The initiator takes the food he receives into the men's house and shares it with his (the
302 initiator's) brothers. Before the ceremony it is the duty of the initiator's sisters to remove from the boy's face all hair, including eyelashes and eyebrows. We see that all these tasks are not restricted to the initiator but extended to his lineage: the boy acquires a special relationship not only with one man, but with the whole lineage. This fact is
881 reflected in the change of terms of address. After the im-
*601 position of the ba the boy will not address the members of his initiator's lineage as "fathers" and "grandmothers," as he did before, but as iyorubodare. And since this term is

881 reciprocal, he will be called iyorubodare by them. The only
601 exception occurs if the initiator is a brother of the boy's true father; then the boy will call his father's mother imarugo, grandmother.

881 When delivering the boy to the initiator, the boy's
539 brother says, "This is your wife (akoredujе); together with him you will cut marido; together with him you will go to get the palm leaves in the forest; with him you will clean the village plaza and Aije muga; you will make a road for mano; with him you will open a path through the bushes, in front of the others carrying their bows and nets; with him
824 you will kill game and fish."[1] (Marido is the plant the Bororo use in making a big wheel, also called marido, with which they dance during a ceremony of the same name. The palm leaves mentioned are those which the Bororo men use to make a fence around the dancing ground during certain cere-
796 monies forbidden to women. Aije muga is the place where the Aije, the bull-roarers, are hidden, where many of the ceremonies have their starting point, and where the actors in these ceremonies are adorned and furnished with the necessary
824 paraphernalia. Mano is another wheel of palm leaves that the Bororo carry in a race on a long road leading to the village.

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1 "Akoredujereo, awu apore are mano kora ta, awu apore are keo kora ta, awu apore ature bai kae, awu apore ature kaidaga kae, awu apore are bororo akudo, awu apore Aije muga akudo. Awu apore are mano koda to, awu apore are awure jodo ipo, iwora paru keje, tuge, boiga, buke, boari otodai."

461 village. To clean the path in front of hunters or fisher-
224 men is a very unselfish job because the man who does it re-
226
264 mains without game and will depend for food on the good will of the others.)

• 881 The first words of the speech, "This is your wife,"
593 also start the speech of the brother of a girl when she is given as compensation (mori) to the hunter who killed a jaguar for her dead brother. In the case of initiation the words do not have sexual implications but merely point out the structural similarity of the two actions. Just as a wife is given to her husband, who will then continue to care for her, provide food for her, and teach her, the boy is given to his initiator. The continuous companionship anticipated between the two yorubodare is parallel to that between husband and wife. When the Bororo were asked to explain this point, they repeated that the boy is the initiator's wife, just as the initiator is the boy's husband, his son, and his father--his yorubodare. The meaning is more apparent in other variants of the speech which do not start with akoredujereo but with aerubodareo, "this is your yorubodare;" or when akoredureo, "this is your husband," is occasionally
881 added. The rest of the speech refers to the new role the
868 initiator will assume toward the boy. Until the rite, the boy's father was responsible for his education. The father showed him how to use bow and arrows, taught him how to make ornaments, and told him the names of different plants and animals. How the initiator will take the father's place and

881 complete the boy's education. They will be together all the
868 time, and the boy, through observation and instruction, will learn the tasks required of an adult Bororo man.

Chapter VIII

FAMILY LIFE

592 The basic economic unit consists of a woman and her husband, her daughters and their husbands, and all their unmarried children. After initiation the sons move into the men's house, but all their belongings remain in their mother's house, and their food continues to be prepared in their natal home until they marry. If they later divorce, their mothers and sisters will again care for them. When a man marries he moves into his wife's house on the other side of the village, but his most precious ornaments remain behind, in care of his sisters' husbands. A house may be occupied by several extended families, each family having its own fireplace. If the families are small, the sisters decide whether they will cook together or separately. When they cook together they use the same fireplace, but each woman cooks in her own pots and provides her own firewood. The families living in one house do not eat together, but the women always exchange some of the food they have prepared. They also help each other care for the children. If a woman is busy making fire or cooking, one of her sisters will take the baby for her; and when a woman goes into the woods to collect firewood, her mother or sister will take care of the

571 616 613 We see that there is a tendency for the most important lineages to contract yorubodare relationships with the most important lineages of the opposite moiety, and for less important lineages to contract these relationships with lesser lineages. On the other hand it would be quite impossible to make an exact list of all the yorubodare relationships existing among the Bororo. The problem lies in the fact that younger brothers, if necessary, can be considered equivalent to their older brothers (according to relationship A) and can claim after them the same yorubodare ties. In this way all lineages, even the least important, do have some yorubodare relationships.

Two yorubodare relationships also exist within the Echerae moiety. One is between Kaigu (Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge) and Mamuyawuge Echeba iturawore eimejera (the chief of the iturawore, a kind of armadillo) and received in exchange adugo kujagureu (the red jaguar). The other relationship is between Ocha Kudureu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge, Echerae) and Badajeba Kudoro (Kiye Chebegiwuge), but the gifts which they exchanged are not known. Therefore, one informant said that really the yorubodare were Nowapayepa or Burea Gurumaga, a close younger brother of Ocha Kudureu, and Ki Bakororo, a close older brother of Badajeba Kudoro. Nowapayepa had given to Ki Bakororo at least one representation to perform: Bakarae eimejera (the chief of the spirits Bakarae). Being yorubodare allows these two pairs of lineages to intermarry and exchange initiators among themselves, though they are from the same moiety.

[582] [881]

000 selves, though they are from the same moiety.

571 Two other lineages of the Echerae moiety, Kaigu and
616 Bakorokudu, also exchanged gifts, but they did not actualize
613 their relationship through the exchange of women and initiators. The Bororo say that Bakorokudu had so many sons (yorubodare) in the opposite moiety that he was ashamed to take his wife from his own moiety.

The yorubodare relationships have been established in the past and they continue through exchange of ceremonies, [574] songs, and food. During the communal meals when each man's pot full of food is brought into the men's house, he first takes his yorubodarege by the hand and leads them to the pot [881] so that they can help themselves. Ideally, a man's initiator, [582] his wife, and, when he is dead, his representative should [768] also be from the yorubodare lineages. The Bororo put clear emphasis on the alliance between moieties and not on their exogamy. There is nothing wrong in marrying within one's own moiety, but since Baitogogo established the yorubodare relationships between the two moieties, the women of one moiety belong to the men of the other moiety and these men would be [773] very angry if deprived of their rights. In the past it was different:

> "First came the Ivagududoge, true Orarimogodoge (another name for the Bororo). There were no Echerae among them. They were capibara, dog, rat, black vulture, turkey buzzard, curassow, parrot, parakeet. They mated among themselves and had children. Following their example, today's Ivagududoge do the same among themselves, with their kinsmen. But those who came later did not do it anymore. They became afraid of doing it among themselves be-

553 828 829 [181] In a society where the majority of the terms of address are non-reciprocal, perhaps the function of these stories is to create and reinforce the idea of the possibility of reciprocity and equality.

553 881 *[601] Another instance of reciprocal address results from the initiation ceremonies. All the boys initiated at the same time are given a common name, which they later use in addressing each other. This name supersedes any other term, past or future, resulting from their kinship relationships. In Pobojari there were two survivors of the last initiation held there. Though they were sociologically related in many ways, they addressed each other reciprocally as Kuruye. Kuruye was the name given to all the initiates on that occasion. Other names that could have been chosen are Bachereuge, Adorodoge, [561] Kunanae, and Inojiye. Though nobody ever recorded the existence of age classes among the Bororo, the existence of this group of boys bound together by the common experience of becoming full members of adult society at the same time, and among whom all kinship terminology is abolished in favor of equality, clearly points to the possible existence of age groups in the past. This would not be too surprising in view of the close cultural similarities between the Bororo and the other Ge tribes.

553 Mugureu" (the two most important Bororo songs of the funeral
533 cycle) over his body, but they will not choose his repre-
764 sentative or make a poari in his memory, and he will be buried in earth rather than in water.

881 All the important cultural components which have been
801 seen in naming are also present in initiation: ornaments,
533 songs, Bakororo with the ika, the crying of the mother, and
539 a new name. But there are some differences and many impor-
162 tant additions. This time a relationship is established with
553 a clan of the opposite moiety. The child becomes part of
616 the larger human society, not just of his own family. Fur-
562 thermore, he is leaving the company of the women and becoming
764 a man. An initiation can only be held when there is a
881 funeral ceremony. When the flesh of the dead person for
616 whom the funeral ceremony is being held has decomposed, the
571 child's brothers start to discuss whom to choose as his yorubodare; when the belongings of the deceased are burned, the boy is officially given to his yorubodare; when marenaruye (dirges) are sung, the sheath is put on the boy's penis. The society is at the same time bidding farewell to one of its members and welcoming another. Also, the boy is entering the important system of exchange of ceremonies and food. Several times during the ceremonies the boy's lineage and that
881 of his yorubodare exchange food. He has grown up and his
834 penis should be covered. The dress invented by Bakororo dis-
561 tinguishes men from boys, and humans from animals. The first
825 penis sheath is black, a sign of maturity. Mature women, when
822

Mature women, when menstruating, wear black loin cloths. For the first time the boy is shown the aije (bull-roarers) and the other secret ceremonies forbidden to women and children. He is also spatially leaving the women's domain; he is moving to the men's house. As he was born in the jungle, moved to the village and named, now he is passing from the periphery of the village to its center. Before the initiation ceremony, the sisters of his yorubodare pluck out all his body hair, for hair is an animal characteristic. He is made to jump over a fire. Cooking is a cultural process, and the boys in the initiation ceremonies are made cultural by being "cooked." When the decision for an initiation ceremony has been made, the men say, "Let us cook the boys" (pawo ipare ekowu).

Marriage is an anticlimax. The alliance with the other moiety has already been confirmed by the initiation ceremony; sexual needs are well attended to by the female associates in the men's house (Crocker 1969: 236-260) and by casual affairs, and now one must move again to the periphery, at least during the night. The continuity of the society must be assured; but it is not a thing to brag of, to extol with ceremonies, or to be proud of.

Finally death. The number and the meaning of funeral ceremonies lasting a month and a half and the number of songs, ornaments, food exchanges, and maternal lamentations would require the space of another book. With death a man's passage from one moiety to another is completed. He himself becomes the ancestor of the other moiety which he has im-

/126/

846 Karl von den Steinen (a.c. /sic/, p. 503) mentions, concerning this: "For two days father and mother do not eat anything, on the third day they can take only a little [753] warm water. If the father ate, he and the child would become sick." He adds: "Until the return of menstruation, the woman may not bathe."

Colbacchini (ibidem) writes, however, about the Bororo observed by him: "The mother bathes on the following day or a few hours after the delivery."

However that may be, in general one can say that, according to the customs connected with the birth, the progenitors behave in a similar way, making evident, in this respect, an equality of the sexes among the Bororo.

• 881 Also the initiations of the young men and women belong among the customs that often distinguish only one of the two sexes. Among the Bororo there is a feast when the young men receive the penis cases. They must spend the previous day in the forest, without any food (von den Steinen, o.c., [171] p. 504). I do not know whether the first menstruation is also celebrated among the Bororo as I was able to observe, for example, among the Tapirapé.

841 As the Bororo told me, during the menstruation of the 785 married woman, she and the husband would fast, in order to become strong. Thus they could fight the ounce, the [825] woman would also fight, upon being attacked by the feline. And thus they would also be able to run faster than the ostrich.

616 /127/ Like the Kaingang, the Bororo are also divided 171 into two exogamous "halves," the tugarege and the tcherae, which, according to Antonio Colbacchini (I Bororos Orientali, Pianta del villagio /The Eastern Bororo, Plan of the village/), means the "strong" and the "weak." Among the Kaingang, too, one of the "halves" has "more strength" than the other one; and this distinction is made even among the four social "groups" of their tribe.

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SPS Bororo SPS

302 have their shoulders gummed and plaited with white feathers,
593 somewhat resembling a shirt-vest. Other young men wear feather armlets. One woman was covered with white feathers from head to foot, with a brilliant plume in her hair. All young men and
304 boys wear suspended from a hole in the lip, bored during infancy, a kind of chain called nogodau, about six inches long, made of flat oval-shaped bits of shell, terminating in a red feather. The older men have a plug in this hole, for if left open it causes difficulty in
291 drinking. The young males wear around their loins a girdle over
881 an inch wide woven from long tongue-like palm leaves. All males who have reached the age of puberty are obliged to wear a shield called bā. A large crescent is worn on the breast, suspended from the neck. A charm, worn on the breast and greatly prized, is made of rows of monkey teeth bound to bamboo rods sometimes eight or more inches long. They are loath to part with this, having received it as a present, and for other reasons. The huge horn claws of the tatou canastro (*Priodontes gigas*) are also worn on the breast and are much esteemed. Coils of square plaited cord hang around the neck, and 10 or 15 yards of hair cord, made of the hair torn out of or cut from the heads of mourners during funeral ceremonies, are worn by men wound around the head. Beyond the ornaments above described the males dress or bedeck themselves only on special occasions.

292 Females above six to nine years of age also wear a sort of corset,
562 made of the inner bark of a tree, especially tanned and prepared, and which encircles the body twice or nearly so. It is much like a bottomless cheese-box or bushel measure, and evidently at first causes much discomfort. Another strip of bark about six inches wide and four feet long, so prepared that it is almost like cloth, passes between the legs from front to back. With this gear, a female is considered properly dressed. When she becomes old, she often discards the corset and uses the soft bark instead.

[177] When a handkerchief or a small piece of cloth was obtained from us, the men tied it around the head or waist, with the points in front and the fly falling behind. The females and boys would hang it shawl-like over the shoulders or around the waist.

361 There were thirty huts in the village that encircled in a very
346 irregular way, facing in every direction, a very large hut that stood in the center and was called baehytu. Bae (by) is the name of the ordinary family hut. This baehytu is the bachelors' hall, the headquarters of all the unmarried men, the workshop where the men make weapons and ornaments and instruments, the dining-

787 The Umotina do not appear to have shamans.
756 Every man is believed able to call up any friendly
[534] ghost. He blows on an armadillo-shell horn and offers the ghost chicha. That night the man will meet the ghost in his dreams, who will then tell him what to do in order to cure himself or a sick relative.

LIFE CYCLE

843 A month or two before expecting a child a
846 woman eats only manioc products, maize, and honey; meat and fish being strictly avoided. These dietary restrictions continue for some months after the birth of the child. The husband, however, is free to eat what he wishes.

844 When a woman feels birth pains she goes into the woods accompanied by her mother or mother-in-law. Delivery is made in a kneeling position. The umbilical cord is tied with tucum twine and cut with a bamboo sliver, the placenta being buried. The midwife then carries the child and assists the mother back to the village. The child is taken near a fire, washed, and its arms and
[845] legs are "pressed into human shape." Twins are accepted. When the child is a day or two old,
[304] tucum nut washers are put on its ear lobes to pierce them. These thin perforated disks are the same in appearance as those used by the Nambi-
[553] cuara. The grandparents then give the child a
854 name. The child is carried on its mother's hip and is nursed for 2 or 3 years or until another
[847] child is born. The Umotina gave no information about using herbal medicines to induce abortion, nor did they mention anything about infanticide.
[862] The first foods a child eats consist of baked sweet-
[855] potatoes, broiled fish, and occasionally meat. Children sleep with their mothers until about 5 or 6 years of age.

● 881 When a girl reaches the age of puberty she paints
[301 herself with urucú and puts on a pair of feather
302] ear pendants to let the young men know that she has come of age. She is not secluded by her parents nor is a public ceremony held. When
[304] a boy reaches the age of 15 or 16, an old male relative pierces his lower lip with a bone awl.
[431] The family then invites the villagers to a feast. The visitors must bring arrows, which they present to the young man.

601 daughter's husband is also *yeddga*. Boys are *mede*, girls are *aréde*. When they get married one's 616 sister's children become *iwagéda*, moiety-son; and *irágo*, moiety-daughter. *Iwagéda* is also one's son-in-law (daughter's husband).

In one's own moiety women are mothers, *inúga;* sisters before puberty, *itwiye;* and sisters after puberty, *irágo*.

601 Children before puberty are just *mede* (boy) and *aréde* (girl); after puberty boys and girls of one's own moiety become *iwagéda* and *irágo*, moiety-son and moiety-daughter or son-in-law and daughter-in-law. One's own son and daughter are called *méde* and *aréde*. These terms are extended to brother's sons and daughters and to sister's sons and daughters. They mean boy and girl especially when *drógo* (little) is added.

● [881] At puberty a boy goes through an initiation rite which incorporates him into his own moiety. [304] After this, sister's son is called *iwagéda*. After the ear-piercing ceremony sister's daughter is called *irágo*.

Cheráide clans

616 1. Bokodóri.
614 2. Bakóro.
3. Badójebage.
4. Kiédo.
5. Boróteberá.
6. Ócbera.

Tugaráide clans

1. Arári.
   a. Arurécha búgi wúgi.
   b. Arurécha tchibógiwúgi.
2. Iwágudodgi.
   a. Tohóreu.
   b. Kúdjagureu.
3. Apibóregi.
4. Ipayédo.

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APPENDIX 2

BORORO KINSHIP SYSTEM

6/b daughter's husband is also *yeddga*. Boys are *mede*;
6/1 girls are *aréde*. When they get married one's sister's children become *iwagéda*, moiety-son; and *irdgo*, moiety-daughter. *Iwagéda* is also one's son-in-law (daughter's husband).

In one's own moiety women are mothers, *imúga;* sisters before puberty, *itwiye;* and sisters after puberty, *irdgo*.

● [881] Children before puberty are just *mede* (boy) and *aréde* (girl); after puberty boys and girls of one's own moiety become *iwagéda* and *irdgo*, moiety-son and moiety-daughter or son-in-law and daughter-in-law. One's own son and daughter are called *méde* and *aréde*. These terms are extended to brother's sons and daughters and to sister's sons and daughters. They mean boy and girl especially when *drógo* (little) is added.

[881] At puberty a boy goes through an initiation rite which incorporates him into his own moiety. After this, sister's son is called *iwagéda*. After the [884] ear-piercing ceremony sister's daughter is called *irdgo*.

6/6
6/4

Cherdide clans	*Tugaréde clans*
1. Bokodóri.	1. Arári.
2. Bakóro.	a. Arurécha búgi wúgi.
3. Badójebage.	b. Arurécha tchibú-giwúgi.
4. Kiédo.	2. Iwágudodgi.
5. Borótcherá.	a. Tohóreu.
6. Óchera.	b. Kúdjagureu.
	3. Apibóregi.
	4. Ipayédo.